224 /101 cont./
time to discharge the weapon. The most coveted animals are
[251] the deer, the danta, the paca, and the wild pig. When there
[439] is a great abundance of game, the meat is smoked at the fire,
[437] preserved, and used in barter for proportionate products through the rubber workers.

• 226 Perhaps the products obtained by fishing constitute the
146 most important source of animal proteins in the Tukano alimentation. Even though it is possible to do without meat, the presence of fish in the daily diet of the Tukano Indian is indispensable.

226 In fishing, the native uses traps of various shapes and sizes, the use of which depends on the size of the river or stream and of the fish sought. The barbasco is also used. Since the arrival of the Creole in the region, the fishhook has been introduced. The fishhook is tied to a branch and left to remain in the water without the personal vigilance of the native, who returns hours later to check his different traps and the various fishhooks that
[178] he has left along the river. The most commonly used bait is a fruit, but pieces of sardines are also used.

231 /102/ A custom little practiced at present is fishing by means of small arrows shot with bows of a proportionate size.

The Tukano Indians like very much to have domesticated animals in their houses, or malocas. They have monkeys, birds, dogs, etc. They love and take care of these animals as if they were their own children, and to feed them when they are small, the
231 native first chews the food before giving it to the animal to eat.
262 Every maloca has a chicken yard nearby, although the chickens
[439] are not used in the native alimentation, but for barter with the
[437] rubber workers. The egg of the chicken does not form part of the diet of the Tukano Indian. Worms and ants complement the native alimentation.

342 The Tukano maloca is of rectangular plan with a two-sided roof that does not rest on walls, but extends to the ground. The front and back sides are closed with walls of plaited straw and constitute the principal and secondary façades, respectively.

/77 cont./

142 Suryãna, and Ídе-masã are lighter (16).
144

16. The hair, too, corresponding to the pigment, becomes less dark. In a Suryãna adolescent from Acuaricuara, it was as reddish as the beard of one of the Hollandish Missionaries who was evangelizing them.

184 The Ídе-masã, Bará, and Kubêwãna exhibit the handsomest types.
171
*192

b. By the cultural elements (work and industry).

[322] The Tukano are the manufacturers of the banquinhos /small
[531] benches, footstools/, which they decorate with their characteristic paintings. And many times the lines of the bench appear on their objects as a decorative element, for example, the curve on the cigar case and on the handle of the oar.

[285] The Desana are specialists in making panniers and mats;
[531] also with colorful ornamentation in original motifs.

[501] The Tuyuka were the first manufacturers of canoes, selling
[439] them later to those of other tribes, who today are beginning to imitate them, without, however, surpassing them.

[278] The Makú are the region's exclusive manufacturers of the
[411] handsome panniers of cipo, "aturá" type, of curare (poison for
[567] the arrows), and of the original weapon, which is the sarabatana /blowgun/, products that they later deliver to those of other tribes, when they serve them as slaves.

[501] The Baniva or Arwake of the Içana manufacture, with exclusiveness, the grater and are likewise excellent canoeists.

• [226] /78/ While the cacurí, as a fishing process, is general to all the tribes, the Pirã-tapuya have characteristic baskets for fishing, and sieves with their dẽsigns.

[301] As for the ornaments for the dances, originally only the Tukano group used the acangatara and the ornamental stone at the neck (VII-3, d). The yay-gõ (stick of the onça, VII-3, c (3)) and the cipo shield (VI-2, e), which they use at the feasts, at the time of drinking the kaxpí (VI-4, i (3)), come from the Desãna (cf. Koch G., Zwei Iahre, 218).

/201 cont./

*192 227 411 with a harpoon set in, and is tied to the staff or the body of the dart by means of a long string (34).

411 225 • 226 34. The turtle fishermen call the iron point of the arrows virote /short arrow/ or espoleta /fusee, bomb fuse, lunt/ (cf. José Verissimo: "As populações indígenas do Amazonas /The indigenous populations of the Amazon/," Rev. do Instituto Histórico e Geographico do Rio de Janeiro, Vol. 50, 1887, p. 377).

*[192] When hit, the fish or turtle flees with the /202/ tip harpooned in its body; but the staff of canarana (Gramineae of the genera páspalum and pánicum), which is tied to it by the long string, continues to float, and thus reveals the place where the harpooned animal is hidden. The fisherman picks up the staff and slowly pulls the string, and with relative ease also brings the turtle into the canoe (35).

35. In order to reach the turtles, the fishermen hurl the arrow upward, in such a way that it falls perpendicularly and, with its own weight and the impulse of the fall, penetrates the chelonian's shell. Ordinarily the turtles are kept alive for sale and consumption. As for the fish of larger size, when they are close to them they kill them with a stroke of an oar on the head, and in this way they are able to bring them into the canoe without any danger.

*192 411 c) Curabí. Curabí is a term from the Língua Geral, in Tukano called bú'sá-khá. They are the darts for the sarabatana /blowgun/. Ordinarily they are of paxiúba and measure some 30 or 40 centimeters in length and one or two millimeters in diameter, and taper at the end. They are kept and transported in a quiver of arumã, bu'sá-sá, as we said above.

192 /221 cont./
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d) They likewise eat, alive or roasted, the saúvas, byã-põrá (or põná; it means offshoot or broad, põrá, of the pepper, byá, because of their spicy flavor), and the termite, buxtwá.

2) Larvae.

a) At certain times of the year very many dark larvae about 3 to 4 centimeters in length appear on the plants of the juparí, ba'tí (erísma japurá, Spr.) and of the cunurí, waxpõ (cunúria spruceana, Baill.), totally devouring their leaves. As soon as they perceive it, the Indians bring down the surrounding plants so that the larvae will not move on to other trees, and they are thus forced to go down by way of the trunk in search of food. At the bottom part of the trunk they make a ring with the leaf of the pocova sororoca (ohó pũrĩ), which is very smooth. The caterpillars, upon reaching there, slip and fall to the ground, being collected with sticks or strings into strainers, and are later slowly roasted on a mat at a certain distance from the fire. The quantity is so great that they can fill baskets, which are stored in the smoke chamber, in order to be consumed little by little. [251]

Even when they do not discover it until the chrysalis stage, they cut off the branches loaded with cocoons, like a large ear of maize, and they toast them, it thus being easier to open the cocoons, as if they were shells of roasted peanuts. The chrysalis constitutes a greatly appreciated delicacy and is also used as bait for the fishhook. These larvae are called in Tukano bá-tĩ-ỹa (louse? of the japurá) and waxpõ-ỹa (louse of the cunurí). [226]

b) Mẽ'rẽ-pãma is the Tukano name of a greenish-yellow larva similar to the silkworm, which feeds on the leaves of the inga tree (ingá édulis, Mimosáceae) and which is greatly appreciated, alive or roasted.

/222/ c) Besides the ones indicated, there are various other larvae sought for food, such as the ones called mẽ'rẽ-ka-pextorõá, likewise from the inga tree; nixtỹá, also from the cunurí; nextoá, which lives in the tree of the same name; suxpi-sõ, which feeds on the leaves of the acuaricuara (tiny red seeds); pixkõrõá, from the pupunheira; sitá, from the tree called uxpísikarã.

/233 cont./

372 Formerly fire was obtained by turning rapidly between the palms of the hands a small stick whose end was provided with a match of kapok, and rubbing it in the small orifice of another small stick that was very dry. The apparatus is called pexká-mẽ wihyasé in Tukano.

*[192]

262 The diet of these natives, although at first sight it does not seem so, is quite varied, rich in vitamins of vegetable and animal origin. As for the salts necessary to the organism, they get them from roots and fruits; as a matter of fact, they have a strong bone structure, and nevertheless the waters show a deficiency of calcareous salts. As for sugar, they only have that of the fruits and of the fermentation of their drinks. The cultivation of sugar cane is insignificant and intended practically for the preparation of the caxirís, although once in a while some Indian will be seen sucking it.

[273] [249]

The amount of food that the Indian consumes daily is large, when he has plenty of it; although on other days, due to a lack of food, he is forced into a very strict fast. Perhaps the caxirí itself, which he drinks in large portions on the occasion of feasts, plays the role of a periodic washing of the stomach, intestines, and kidneys. It is certain that thin persons are rarely found among them, if one excludes the older women, who generally are so, and the sick. They are, on the contrary, plump in figure or even fat, without obesity or deforming adiposities, strong and healthy.

It is to be noted that the Indian emits a characteristic smell, which makes us think that it is due to a diet predominantly of fish and pepper.

/234/ 5) Hunting and fishing.

a) Fishing.

• 226 Fish is an important element in the diet of the Indians, as we have already seen. In the regimen of the family home, each family head provides the fish: it is his habitual, although not exclusive, occupation. In the regimen of the collective dwelling

[462]

/234 cont./

226 [462] of several families, the maloca, the small-scale fishing still falls to the men, and they go out in groups of two or three or even alone, or accompanied by some child, perhaps very young, who rows and handles the canoe. All of the Indian's concern is to make his son a very good fisherman, a marupiára. "Mõ'sigõ" is the Tukano term for indicating the individual who is lucky in fishing and hunting.

There arrives, however, the piracema, the period when the fish gather in schools, waĩ tũrĩrõ, especially in the cachoeiras, trying to get past them in order to reach the headwaters. It is the opportunity for the Indian to prepare his reserves of fish for the fruitless days. It is the period of large-scale fishing. Or also, low water comes, and the fish that went up the igarapés and igapós (64)

64. Igarapés are the small tributaries of the rivers; igapós are the arms of water or pools that are formed during high water.

will try to reach the river; this is also the time of joint fishing expeditions. These represent a social event that brings together the inhabitants of the maloca or povoado. Even more, it is a collective entertainment or sport, a time of celebration. If the distance to the fishing place is great, as it often is, they will stay overnight there for several days, and in this case they must take their hammocks. Not infrequently they improvise tapirís or huts in the surroundings conveniently beforehand. The women will prepare the beijú and the flour. The men will take care of the nets and see that the canoes are in good condition. The complete preparation includes, besides the fishing gear, the panniers in which to keep the fish, the fire, etc.

4: Silva--342 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/234 cont./

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The principal methods of fishing are:

1) With poison (65).

65. The harmfulness of the method is under discussion, and some condemn it as destructive of the fish, many of which cannot be used. The fact is that for many generations they have fished in the same places, and there is always fish. If at present they are not as large and as plentiful, perhaps one should attribute it, not to the method, but to the frequency of the fishing. It also seems that many fish only become stupefied and manage to escape. The actual difficult circumstance is that at times the igarapés are quite low and the amount of timbo quite large, and both the fish and the very water that they drink cause intestinal disorders among the Indians.

[164]

/235/ a) Ehú (timbo). The large-scale fishing (Waí pu'asé) is that which is done with timbo (66).

66. Timbo is the name of various Leguminosae of the genera Tephrósia, Lonchocarpus (densiflorus, rufescens, etc.).

A suitable spot was chosen beforehand, for example, a widening of the river like a small bay, or the mouth of an igarapé or igapó, and baited, buxtú-kĩse, that is, food was thrown there frequently for the fish (termites, buxtw̃á, hence the term buxtú-kĩse, or also pupunha, flour, fruits, mass of beijú, etc.). Afterwards, during the night, the site was surrounded with the parí, in Tukano sũtérika, or with a very tight fence of thin stakes of paxiúba, leaving only an opening through which the fish came in. Nowadays, in order to facilitate this work, they make the

/235 cont./

• 226 278 *[192] parí with a mat, not plaited, but with tightly connected vertical splints, which they set up with strong stakes at the chosen spot. On the night preceding the fishing, the opening is closed, so that the fish that have come in to eat cannot go back to the river. It is the siege of the fish, or waí-ɵɵ. The timbo is beaten well, hitting it against the rocks or crushing it with a stick. The juice, which has a strong odor, spreads through the water, killing the small fish and stupefying the large ones, which will soon float. In order to reach the bottom layers of water, they also throw mud with the plant juice. Very early in the morning, then, the canoes leave (or they will have already left even earlier, if the spot is far away) with the whole family, men, women carrying the children, youngsters, the gear (67).

[784] 67. Not, however, the pregnant women, because in this case the fishing would not have good results. If the dog goes in the water, they believe that the timbo will lose its strength.

On that day no one will eat mingau or anything sweet (68);

68. "I ate sweets and was lucky in fishing," objected Padre Afonso, a Montfortian Missionary from Teresita. -- "But the senhor is not one of us," the convinced Indian answered him.

*[192] they must go with an empty stomach; otherwise the fishing will be unfruitful. They will all try to enter the water simultaneously, advancing from upstream downward, yelling in unison (and anyone who does it late will be reprimanded), pwá-pwá-pwá, in order to frighten the fish. This act is called waí nãrã; it is the frightening of the fish to make them go into the poisoned water.

/235 cont./

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*[192]

The small fish come to the surface dead and are gathered with the puçá or with a strainer, or even with the hand; it is the waí wa'sá. The large ones, only stupefied, are caught with arrow or spear. Some fish manage to jump the pari barrier, if this has been /236/ set quite deep, but they fall into horizontal nets hanging along the barrier; it is the waí bu'pú-pearó.

The fishing is done with cries, laughter, falls, and finally great joy. And all participate, children, women, men... In the immediate vicinity of the fishing place they prepare the fish for eating and they also smoke it to preserve it.

*[192]

b) Waí nimá (cunambí). Waí nimá means poison-of-fish. It is (in Nheengatú called Cunambí) Phyllanthus cunami, a bush with large leaves, of the family of the Euphorbiaceae, which they customarily have planted in the vicinity of their dwelling or in the clearing. When they crush the leaves and seeds, adding flour, ashes of cafia brava, pepper, and japurá, they obtain a firm mass from which they make small balls that are thrown at the water. Before throwing one of these balls, however, they hold it between the index finger and the thumb, and, with the hand, describe around the head two circles to the right and one to the left. If one of these gestures is omitted, they say, no fish will be caught. They explain that the ashes being of cane, which floats, the fish will also float (69).

69. The explanation may be this: the potash from the ashes acts on the bladder of the fish, making it dilate, and the fish comes to the surface.

The fish, swallowing some of these small balls, after a few instants will come to the surface of the water, stunned, and the Indians, swimming or in canoes, gather them in baskets. The effect, however, is temporary. The woman, while she prepares the japurá for such fishing, must not eat anything, nor can she go to the toilet, in order for the poison to retain all its

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/236 cont./
efficacy. They also use the poison-of-fish like timbo, mixing its juice with the mud.

*[192] Some tiny leaves known as "doé nimá," poison-of-taraíras, can be used in the same way as the poison-of-fish.

c) Ehú-pu. Piquiá (caryócar villósum, Aubl.) is the name of an edible chestnut, the pulp of which, nevertheless, is poisonous. Because of this, after it is crushed, there is produced a mass that, thrown into the water, acts even stronger than the timbó, that is, it stupefies the fish, which soon come to the surface, then being caught by hand or arrows.

These last two methods are used in small-scale fishing.

2) With traps.

226

There are several kinds of traps used for fishing; the principal ones are:

*[192] /237/ a) Bũxkõá-wõ (in Nheengatú matapí). It is a nassa /fishing basket/ or jequí like that of the fishermen in the south of Brazil. It consists of a cage of sticks of patauá, paxiuba, or even cipo, in the shape of a cone or elongated cylinder. The thin part is tied with cipo, and is untied at the moment of extracting, through there, the fish caught. In the wide part (base of the cone) there is a funnel-shaped opening called in Tukano ʸe'ẽ-nẽ-pá, with flexible sticks that spread in order to let the fish pass through. The matapí is submerged in the small canals, being embedded among the rocks of the cachoeira, with the mouth toward the downstream side and the closed end toward the side of the current. The fish, which has a tendency to go upstream, comes in by way of the mouth, but it finds the bottom closed. Sometimes in this way they collect numerous and large fish daily.

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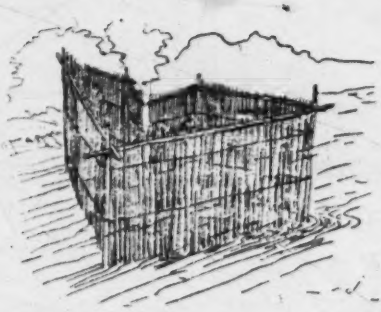

Cacurí (waí-ro)

b) Waí-ro (in Nheengatú cacurí). It consists of an enclosure of paxiúba or patauá sticks fastened to stakes that are very high and reinforced so that the river current will not destroy it, placed near the edge of the river or of islands, where they know that the fish are in the habit of passing during high water. The enclosure, almost always triangular in shape, is continued laterally by two cloths or pari barriers, which join at an obtuse angle, driving toward the enclosure the fish, which, following their instinct, always advance against the current. Upon reaching the angle of the barrier, this gives passage, because it is loose there, but it soon closes again through the action of the current. The fish advance, but find the bottom closed, and, not finding the way by which they came in, remain imprisoned, not infre-
*[192] quently in large numbers. This system is very practical, equivalent to a fishpond where the fish are kept alive and the /238/
[843] fisherman dives in and catches the fish he wants with the puçá, waí wehẽ-kõ. The women, when pregnant, cannot eat fish from the cacurí. They think that the spirit of the child to be born goes to cry near the trap at night and scares away the fish. They attribute the failures to such a cause and remedy it by surrounding the barricade with a poisonous cipo. The child's spirit, upon noticing it, will run away, and the fish will come to enter the trap.

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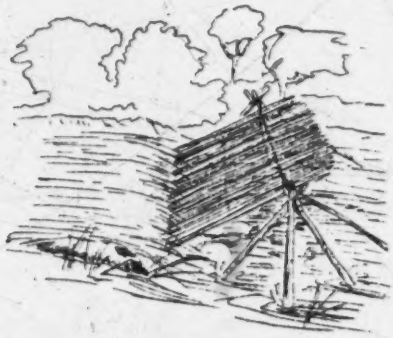
• 226
*[192] c) Imĩ-nõ. It is similar to the cacurí; it is, however, of small dimensions, generally a meter in length and the same in width. It is usually made of stakes and is embedded, like the nassa /Port. massa, "mass," evidently a misprint/, among the rocks of the stream.



Fish platform (ewá)

*[192] d) Ewã (in Nheengatú cajá or jirau /platform/. The Indian knows that the fish, at a certain time, tries to jump over the small falls of water. Knowing these places, he puts up there, during low water, a platform set on large pieces of wood, in such a way, however, that it will stay like an inclined plane, with the lower side corresponding to the point at which the fish try to pass. Sometimes one sees enormous and well-joined trunks that withstand the force of the current, representing perhaps the work of many days by all the men of the maloca or povoado. The fish jump, trying to reach the upper part of the cachoeira, and fall onto the platform, from where the fishermen collect them several times a day. Or also, such a rack is arranged so that it will receive the water from the current
*[192] and retain the fish carried by it. The fish that they manage to catch this way are the sẽ'ã (in Nheengatú pirá-mirim), sometimes filling many panniers.

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3) With arrow and net.

a) With arrow. On the bank of the rivers there are often trees whose fruits or seeds are sought by the fish, as the japurá is by the aracú. The Indian then stations himself in the shade of these trees, in his canoe, and waits for the fish to come up to get these fruits, which are floating; at this moment he hits them with an accurate arrow-shot and collects them in the canoe. It is an exercise that is very diverting and is called waí bõẽ. Lacking fruits, they break open termite nests, full of larvae, which the fish are very fond of, and throw them into the water. When the fish jump to snap at these larvae, they are hit by the arrows.

b) With net. We saw the use of the funnel-shaped net puçá, wehẽ-kõ, and with the mouth always open, in order to collect the fish killed or stupefied by the poisons. They also use for the same purpose their sieves or baxti; it is the method that is called waí wa'sá.

[784] It is to be noted that when the man prepares his puçá, he does it in secret, without smoking or eating, only with ipadú in his mouth, and abstains from talking or from going to the toilet, in order for the puçá to be efficient.

They also use it for direct fishing; it is the waí ñũũ. Standing at the mouth of the igarapé, he waits for the fish, frightened by those who are making noise above, to seek the river, and with a swift movement he brings in the puçá, almost always carrying some fish.

Also in the dark of night, especially on the shores, they surprise the fish and catch them with their puçás; it is what is called waí ɛ̃ɛ̃.

Or also, with that larger type of puçá (VI -- 2, e (3)) called jereré in the Língua Geral, which is opened only at the moment of use, they dip it, and, when the fish is inside, they close the net, drawing it out very quickly. They are simple processes, but profitable, especially at the time of low water or during the piracemas.

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They also use the following method: they surround with parí the mouth of an igarapé, leaving a small passage for the fish that come up to sleep. At a certain time of the night a man stations himself with his puçá beside this opening, while others, at the upper part of the stream, beat the water with sticks. The frightened fish, which try to return to the river, land in the puçá.

Piracema, waí turĩrõ, is the meeting of schools of fish in certain places at the time of spawning, during which, for this very reason, they are less timid. The piririca, that is, the rippling of the waters, and a characteristic noise, waí bõxsõrã, reveal these places. They then set out by canoe among the schools of fish, and, with the puçá or with the arrow, the Indians catch great quantities of fish.

/240/ 4) Fishing with hook, spear, and harpoon.

a) Skilled fishermen that they are, the Indians use still other fishing methods and implements, and also ways introduced by the civilized, giving them, however, characteristic applications.

Sometimes with a lighted torch, he stupefies the fish that is sleeping: it is what is called to dazzle or to blind the fish, and he captures it with his harpoon, yõxẽ-kõ. This method is called waí wã (tataitĩca or muturisáua in Nheengatú). It is to be noted that the forest itself furnishes him this torch with the tree called mãxpãrí (turí) of the genus Licania, the wood of which is separated into fine strips (70)

70. These strips are also used as laths, because the resin makes it unattackable by termites.

and, once lighted, maintains its light until the whole strip is consumed.

At the time of the piracema two or more canoes with some speed and with turí torches go out at night. The fish, even the large ones, awakened by the noise and stunned by the light, jump, and many fall into the canoes. It is what is called in Nheengatú piráquira, and in Tukano wai nãrã, that is, frightening the fish.

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b) Bait. There are various kinds of bait, ahũñesé, that they use, according to the nature of the fish they want and the habitat of which they seek and know. Sometimes they use the minhoca /an annelid worm/, ahwã, or larvae of insects, grasshoppers, etc.*

Many of these minhocas live inside bromelias (called for this reason, by those of the Nheengatú language, mother of the minhoca, šimwí mãña). The fisherman indeed takes with him some of these bromelias, true deposits of live minhocas (71),

> 71. This type of minhoca, darakubi, is found in the bromelias of the igapós. A skilled fisherman, Mr. Manoel Valério, informed us that when the darakubí wants to migrate, it breaks off a piece of itself, the final rings of its own body, and lets them fall. If there is a fish in the vicinity, it will immediately jump to catch the bait, and the minhoca has knowledge of the danger because of the noise and remains still. When it does not hear noise any longer, it means that the fish have already migrated to the river, and it can leave without danger.

called darakubí in the língua geral.

Other times, as bait, they use pieces of fish or even berries, fruits, or fruit pulp prepared as small balls. The tambaquí, for example, is very fond of the fruit of the jacitara of the igapós, known as wai-tũ-dá (in Nheengatú Kamú-kamú). The fisherman, without even a hook, ties the fruit at the end of the line and hits the water with it, as if the fruit were falling directly from the tree. /241/ The voracious fish advances and swallows the fruit. Then, with a rapid movement, the fisherman pulls it out of the water. Even with a simple ball of wood, doxké-ñõ-wehekã (Nheengatú ya-põga), they manage to catch the tambaquí, acting as in the preceding.

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c) Hooks. Formerly they made their hook with two sturdy spines of tucum, bextá, joined at a wide angle by thread with pitch, with which kaxpõ, a root similar to the Japanese potato, is crushed. They explain that the fish will smell the root and will come to bite the hook.

This, like the common metallic hook, tied to a string and covered with bait, becomes caught in the gills of the fish that has swallowed it.

Many times the hook is left tied to a rod, weherí wã'sõ, fixed on the bank of the river. It is the method called wai wehé-'kũ.

Or the Indian holds it in his hand, fixed at the end of a rod; this is called wai wehẽ. Way-myõ-he is when the rod and the hook are dispensed with, because the mandí /Siluridae/ customarily swallows the line, even without any bait.

Sometimes the reed with the hook is ingeniously set, with the tip arched and constituting a trap, wai yuró. When the fish bites the bait, the reed comes up and the fish remains suspended in the air. This is the way they customarily catch the taraíra, which lives at the edge of lagoons and swamps.

The manner of catching the buú (tucunaré), a very tasty fish with scales, which during the day swims on the surface of the water hunting other fish, is very curious. The apparatus is called buú weherí wãsõ (Nheengatú pindá siriríka). It consists of a rod having at the end a string with a tuft of quite red feathers from the neck of the toucan, among which is hidden a hook. In the places in which the tucunaré is found, they describe rapid semicircular movements in the water with the tip of the rod. The fish follows the movement of the rod in order to catch the colored feathers and, when it is able to, makes a leap in order to bite them. At this moment the Indian, with a skillful pull of the rod, catches the fish, which might weigh up to three or four kilograms.

Sometimes they manage to catch them with the cord tied to the stern of the boat, during voyages, in such a way that the feathers skim over the surface of the water; it is the method called buú waharí-da (Nheengatú pindá wawaká).

/241 cont./

*192 • 226 d) Espinhel /line with many hooks/. Nowadays they acquire the metallic hooks from the civilized and, moreover, use them with very profitable and advantageous methods. One of these, for example, is the espinhel, a process called mõ-weheríkanõ.

/242/ The espinhel consists of a very strong line 50 to 100 meters in length, tied at one end to the bank of the river and, at the other, to a stone that is thrown to the bottom of the river. A piece of molongó /Apocynaceae/, as a float, poogõ dõxká or pa'sa-ká (in Nheengatú mututí), tied to the middle of the cord, keeps it at a suitable depth and serves for locating the espinhel. On this long cord, at an interval of 3 or 5 meters, are joined small strings, each one with its hook provided with bait. They set the espinhel late in the afternoon, and early in the morning, with their canoe, they take it out, starting to pull from the part with the stone, in the middle of the river. As the fish taken is brought close to the canoe, they kill it with a blow on the head, because not infrequently large surubis and piraíbas of 50 kilograms or even more are found. Frequently the fish are found already tired by the efforts made to free themselves, or even bitten and half-eaten by the piranhas.

[784] The first fish of the espinhel will be given to some dog or released in the water, or they bury it; it is essential that it should not be eaten by any person.

The pregnant woman (VII - 4, f (2 d)) cannot eat any of the fish caught on the espinhel, because otherwise no more fish will be caught.

During the time of high water, when the rivers flood their banks, invading the forests (these are the igapós), many fish migrate from the rivers, in order to eat the wild fruits. The native then takes advantage of this fact to tie lines with hooks to the bushes or to the branches of the trees in such a way that they stay a span more or less under the water. Upon inspecting them at dawn, he finds almost all the hooks with their fish. It is the fishing called wai poxtá-poó. In the first days of the high water they can perform this operation two or three times a night, with positive results, in order to keep the alligator from eating the fish.

4: Silva--375 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/Illustrations facing p. 256 in the original source./

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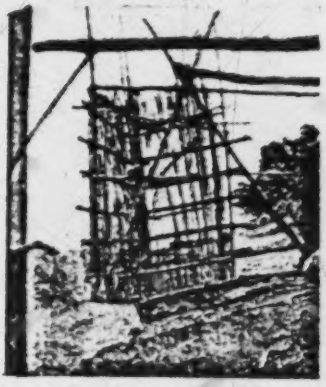
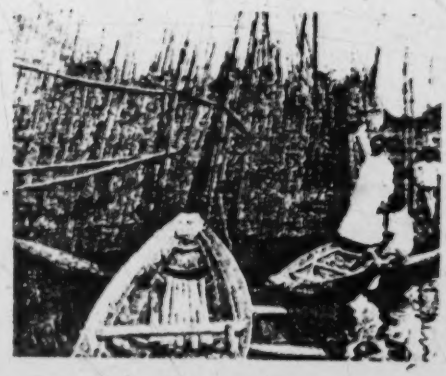


Cacuri (Waĩ-ro) set up during low water, but in the path used by the fish at high water

Small puça (Wehẽ-kõ)

Barrier in a stream for fishing



/364 cont./

789 They put seeds of certain plants inside the shotgun, in
[224] order to attract game. The eggs of fish, on the hook, have
[226] similar efficacy.

*[192] They believe in the magic efficacy of certain potions which are called oxkó ("puçanga" in the Língua Geral). Some are prepared by the paje or kõmũ; others, by any individual. There are puçangas for washing the parí and the cacurí, and to guarantee them abundant fish.

The powders for the preparation of the puçangas are kept inside certain nuts, like the tucumã (bextá) and the ucuqui (puxpyá).

[514] They show a particular aversion toward human excrement (75):

> 75. We have observed that, in practice, the toilet is that part of the landing place that is less deep, where they customarily take their bath. Since they are already immersed in the water, the personal cleaning is facilitated.

for this reason they do not mow that part of the povoado that serves as toilet.

[832] The women prepare a puçanga and give it to the young men to drink, in order to attract them for amorous purposes.

789 During the new moon the mothers give tea from a plant
824 called tá:-dõxká (in Nheengatú peri-pirioca; cyperus piperioca) to the children to drink; and the child "comes to know everything," that is, will be intelligent.

*[192] There are many varieties of this plant, all endowed with magic virtues:

[241] 1st. -- The woman grates the root from one of them, or rubs it in her hands, before going to the clearing; and thus the mandioca will yield very well.

/364 cont./

789 824 2nd. -- Another variety is rubbed on the fishing line in order to attract the tucunaré (bu'ú) and aracú (bo'téa) fish.

* [192] • 226 [832] 3rd. -- With a third variety the young woman rubs the face, hands, and breasts, in order to attract young men to her.

The first time they wear a new pair of pants, it must be on top of others already old.

789 291 In relation to the atmospheric phenomena, there are many practices and prescriptions:

821 1st. -- One must not point at the rainbow with the finger; if one does so, the finger will rot.

/365/ 2nd. -- When there is a lunar eclipse, and while the phenomenon lasts, everyone will set to work very noisily; the man will split firewood, the woman will noisily clean her house, etc.; the purpose of these noises, as Wallace has already revealed, is to chase away Wãx-tĩ, whom they believe to be killing the moon.

3rd. -- When the new moon appears, the children do gymnastics, open the legs, stretch the arms, etc. They say that they do so in order to grow.

They set themselves to blowing toward the sky, in order to drive away the storms or the rain.

When the women do not want to work in the clearing, they beat on the ears with the open hand, for the purpose of calling the rain.

789 825 c) Animals. If the serẽ'rõ (Uaupés sene'nõ) (a small woodpecker) sings while they are planting, they say that the clearing will be very luxuriant: "serẽ'rõ ũukã, kõmã-ro a'tĩrosa (when the woodpecker sings, summer will come).

* [192] They throw into the river the snakes that they kill; to bury them would attract other snakes.

When they find a young bird without feathers from the wings up, they believe this is because it saw the curupira.

/365 cont./

825 When the women see a blind snake or a headless snake, õxsó, they turn their faces to the side, so that it will not come at night to fecundate them.

[752] [784] When someone is bitten by a snake, his relatives must abstain from salt, pepper, and fish.

[192] [856] When a child is slow in learning to talk, they give the smoked meat of the toad nãxterõ to it to eat, affirming that thus he will soon begin to talk (76).

76. Patrícia Vasconcelos, Tukano from S. Luzia, river Papurí, states that this happened with her. And soon after having eaten the meat of such a toad, she started to talk.

[192] [304] [224] [226] They make some cuts on the children's bodies, when they are still young, with fish teeth, especially from the piraíba, so that they will become mõ'sĩgõ (in Nheengatú marupiára), that is, lucky in fishing and hunting.

[192] Uruká-tutu is the onomatopoeic name, in the Língua Geral and in Tukano, of a nocturnal bird, whose chirping must not be imitated, because it will come to avenge itself against the one who did this, throwing stones at him. They affirm that this bird is the disembodied spirit of some white or civilized, pexká-sã wẽ'rĩ wãx-tĩ.

[752] /366/ They burn the house of the termite and put the ashes on wounds, so that they will not leave a scar. They explain that just as the termites repair their nest perfectly when it is broken open, the ashes of their nest will produce the same result in the human wounds.

If a dog goes in the water in which timbo has been spread for fishing, the poison will no longer have any strength.

[843] The ladies in a state of pregnancy must not eat the pirarucú and pirandira fish, or the pirara; because "this eats dead people" is the explanation that they provided.

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843 *[192] •[226] d) Persons. Every pregnant woman, nihĩ-paxkó (after the fourth month, more or less), is a dangerous being. There are various prescriptions referring to the gestating woman. For example, she cannot eat the fish from the espinhel /line with many hooks/ (VI - 5, a (4 d)), from the cacurí, nor participate in the large-scale fishing with timbo. If she does so, the fishing will be fruitless, and the espinhel or cacurí will no longer catch fish (77).

> 77. They ruined the espinhel of Dom José Domitrovitsch. The Missionary complained and asked the reason. The espinhel "is no good," the Indian said to him, because my wife ate some of the fish caught in that espinhel and she is pregnant.

She must not touch the bow or arrow, so that she does not "ruin them."

846 *[192] About the father of a newborn baby, it is also said that he is in a state of pregnancy, nihĩ-paxkõ or nihĩ-pkõ. He must, then, take care of himself, "sihyógõ" (cf. "Couvade," VIII -- 1, b (3)), so that the child will grow strong.

844 It is permissible only for women to attend the delivery; the men must withdraw. If by any chance there are male guests in the maloca, then the woman giving birth will remain in some tightly closed apartment, if there is one. Or she will leave, in order to give birth in some isolated hut or even in the forest. Before taking her puerperium bath, the woman may not see a bow or any instrument of iron (machete, ax, assagai, etc.).

843 If the husband stops with open arms in the door of the house during the pregnancy of his wife, she will have a difficult delivery.

If during her own pregnancy the woman sits down to eat, or sits in a hammock with her legs dangling, her delivery will be difficult.

/404 cont./

481 One of the aquatic amusements of the children is the one
524 called Wãx-tĩ Mãx-kõ, the son of Wãx-tĩ, an obvious reference
[192] to the legend of Nhamacurú (cf. "Lendas do Uaupés /Legends of the Uaupés/"). To wit: two children placed one in front of the other, with the arms toward the back, immerse themselves in the water simultaneously. Moments later, emerging at the same time, they embrace each other quickly. Then, again with the arms to the back, they immerse themselves, in order to emerge again, embrace each other, and sink into the water. This is done a certain number of times, until they become tired, and the entertainment ceases.

501 Another frequent exercise is that of rowing. From childhood
868 on, from about three or four years of age perhaps, they learn how to row and have their small oars. Not infrequently a child alone or two go rowing and travel kilometers from their own home.
[226] Many times it is the children who row, while the men attend to fishing from the canoe. This habit gives them surprising skill
[147] and endurance. They are capable of rowing ten or more hours a day and for six or eight consecutive days on long trips.

501 The striking of the oar handle on the side of the canoe marks the rhythm, and, when there are several rowers, they take pride in the accuracy /405/ of the strokes, as if they were one single stroke. Three different rhythms are to be observed: 1st -- one faster, when they have need to reach some point, and in the currents; there are more or less three deep strokes in two seconds; 2nd -- when there is no current, they change to a slower rhythm: one measure yes and two no, so that one hears two sounds in the water (of two waves which form and strike against the canoe), having three strokes in five seconds; 3rd -- at times they take up another rhythm: two fast strokes and a slow and deeper one.

The following detail can be observed: the hand that holds the handle of the oar describes a perfect circle; and after they give a blow on the edge of the canoe, the oar remains for a moment lying over it, parallel to the water. In order to rest from the effort, they go to rowing from the other side of the canoe;

/415 cont./

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[241] Many times, principally in the modern regime of family habitations, the young man, as preparation for marriage, has already made a clearing with the help of friends. He will then take the girl to see the spot and will say: "I made the clearing, it is for you to do the planting" (16).

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16. These were the expressions of the Taryana Teodora from Iauareté. Whereas the Tukano Antonio Barreto stated that the father, when he gives the wife to the young man, says to him: "I brought you a woman. Go fish for her." And he added: "He goes, hands her the fish, she takes, which means that she accepts the young man." Might not one perhaps see in these different formulations an allusion to the fact that originally the Taryana Civilization was essentially agricultural, and the Tukano one, a fishing civilization?

/416/ During these first days the young wife will have not only the assistance of the mother-in-law, but the husband will try to ingratiate himself, offering her good fish or good game. If, however, she does not want to adjust to this new order of things, she will then resort to flight (17).

17. It will happen, the Tukano Dorotéia Brito informed us, that they will go looking for her a second time. It is understood that this is so on account of the agreements that preceded the marriage and its conveniences for both of the families. If, however, she flees a second time, she will not be sought any more. But in this case her father will return to the young man the gifts received.

In the environment in which they live and with their way of life, this is not difficult for her.

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621 476 /footnote 2 cont./ Nheengatú-Portuguese vocabulary, points out: -- "Aiuri. It is the same as what is called mutyrum on the lower Amazon."

527 221 226 With the high waters the piracema, that is, the schools of fish that go up to spawn, occur. During the low waters the fish of the igapós want to return to the rivers. During these periods the "large-scale fishing" takes place, which is a collective task, a sport, and a feast at the same time, as we have indicated (VI-a(1) /see p. 341/).

221 222 527 At different times of the year great quantities of insects appear, larvae or flying, whose capture and preparation alter the daily rhythm of life.

The trees yield fruit in different seasons, in which the Indian will get more abundant harvests; and from many he will prepare flavorful drinks, invariably consumed amidst music, songs, and dances.

527 /483/ Besides these "feasts of the trees" or "of the fruits," annual and regular, others will not be lacking, due to the birth, initiation, marriage of some member of the group. There will perhaps be some dead person to lament with the social wailing and the funeral feast of tradition.

484 An index of a nomadic character, during the year opportunities for trips of amusement will occur. They will be in search of a bride, for reasons of trade, to make fishing expeditions, Poose to which they were invited, visits to other malocas, even to those of a tribe different from the one to which he is connected by affinity. And the Indian, with his whole family, hammocks, aturás, and other gear, and even some small dog, fills up one or several canoes and goes on for hours or even days looking for other povoados where they will spend carefree days or weeks (3).

797 527 3. Nowadays two or three times a year the Indians of the different povoados, move to

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every turn and landmark of the waterways, their utilization of forest products is also extensive. From the forest they derive mainly raw materials for construction: woods, fibers, and leaves for roof thatching; and some food produce: wild fruits and berries, ants and grubs. Forest foods are supplementary and minor contributions to the diet. In a sense, game are riverine too because they are hunted along water courses. Only occasionally do hunters enter the forests on foot. They prefer to go by canoe, entering the smaller *caños* to catch animals as they come to drink. Hunting is important; the flesh of game animals – the tapir in particular – is highly appreciated and never fails to add a festive note to a meal. On balance, however, it is fish and other water creatures that furnish the main source of animal protein to the diet.

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Fishing is the daily masculine routine; hunting is spasmodic, undertaken according to circumstance, as when someone has observed a herd of wild peccary or fresh tapir dung. As a break in the monotony of everyday work, and when the appetite has become jaded with fish, a hunting party is an enlivening experience.

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The Indians do not complain about the corner of nature they occupy. They recognize and accept periodicity, times of glut and times of scarcity. Abundance is pleasing to them and scarcity does not alarm them. They expect it to pass. The Indians believe that they are living now in a "golden age." In the past, before they had learned farming and all the techniques of hunting and fishing, they were always on the verge of starvation and lived on tree saps and bark, their traditions say.

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Once, while gathering roots, according to one tradition, they came upon the *aũnhokũ* (manioc) tree, a tree that had leaves of the manioc plant. Manioc tubers fell from it. They had never encountered such a tree and did not know what to do with it. Agouti (*Bwũ*) came along eating. An old man asked him what he was eating and Agouti replied he was eating manioc. The manioc at that time had no skin. The tree grew in a clearing with no growth around it. It was guarded by many animals. The old man thought, "What are we going to do?" Then along came *Hũbũhokũ* (a rodent), and he told the people to clear a *chagra* and to plant. "Now, let us cut down the tree," he told them. The old man made a *chagra* and the people cut down the tree with stone axes and puño teeth. When the tree had fallen, all the animals came to eat. The old man then saw that one branch held plantains, another sugar cane, another *turũ* (poison), another *pudjũ* (a potato-like tuber), and another *yapíka* (sweet potato). They then cut off each limb and planted it.

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773 From *Kúwaï*, the culture hero, the people learned how to fish with
226 hook and line and how to hunt with bow and arrow and with the
224 blowgun. The Indians say that in ancient times they did not hunt the
[177] tapir. It was not until they acquired guns that they learned how to
[411] kill tapir. Other animals they did not eat because of religious taboos
that are no longer in force. Paca and armadillo were devourers of
262 human corpses and were hence forbidden; eating sloth would make
[614] people lazy; and finally, all animals whose names were represented
in the sib genealogies were taboo to members of that sib.

PRODUCTION

261 The Cubeo do not value abundance of food for its own sake.
433 Plenty is, to be sure, widely enjoyed as a break in the daily routine.
It is not valued for its promise of satiety, for the Indians customarily
eat moderately, but for the opportunity it offers for a gay feast. A big
catch of game or of fish excites the people because it does not occur
[251] often. There is no desire to overdo, however, and no more is brought
than will be consumed directly or can be safely preserved by smoking
and drying. Since, at best, smoking preserves meat for only a week or
[554] two in the tropical climate there is not much point in increasing
[614] a fisherman's or a hunter's "take." Social status is a minor issue in
[574] food production since feasting is essentially intrasib, whereas social
status comes into play most sharply between sibs.

433 In short, there are no strong motives to stimulate hunting and fish-
ing other than appetite and desire for variety. The pressure in pro-
duction falls upon the women. If we are to speak of "surplus" at all in
244 Cubeo food production it can be only in connection with the manioc
433 crop, which is regarded as the woman's contribution, even though it
is the men who make the clearing. The limiting factor in manioc pro-
[462] duction is not land as much as it is labor and morale. A large com-
munity under a forceful headman can clear a good deal more land
than is needed for subsistence. In the case of manioc, subsistence can
244 be measured precisely by the amount that is converted directly to
433 manioc cake (*áuno*) and to tapioca porridge. "Surplus" is what is
252 converted to chicha (*unkúndye*) and to farinha. There can be no
[177] doubt but that the machete, now universal in the region, improved
[412] the standard of nourishment considerably. The real limitation upon
production is woman power. Since women carry through all phases
[462] of manioc production, from planting and harvesting to conversion
into the final product, they are the ultimate "bottleneck." A woman
working only to prepare manioc as food is already fully occupied.

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To produce farinha, which is mainly for trade, and chicha, which is mainly for sociability, she draws upon what is normally her "spare" time. She gives up the evening hours of rest, moments of gossip, play with her breast baby, and food foraging in the brush, which she regards as a pleasant diversion from the back-breaking manioc routine.

A Cubeo woman cannot be coerced to work any more than a man can be. Her willingness to work hard depends, in the case of a married woman, upon her regard for her husband in the first place, but also upon her general relations with the community at large. The Cubeo know that a lazy woman is a disaffected woman and they are conscious, accordingly, of the social importance of marital felicity. The only control the community has over a domestic situation is by maintaining a generally high level of good feeling. Needless to say, Cubeo women are not and do not consider themselves to be abused. A woman who does not care for her husband will leave him or, if her laziness is deep-seated and represents a grievance against the community as a whole, she will urge her husband to leave with her. The fact is, the feeling against indolence or apathy toward work is so strong that even a thick-skinned person can sense the unvoiced community disapproval. Thus, in the absence of strong political authority the productivity of a Cubeo community depends in the main upon all of the subtle factors of kinship, sexual attractiveness, and satisfaction, and of public morale. An unproductive community is normally not underprivileged by virtue of location or of tools but simply by its own lack of social health.

FISHING

Fish are abundant and there is hardly a day when fish are not part of the diet. The basic Cubeo meal consists of manioc cake and fish. Every male, from puberty to the grave, is a fisherman. Fishing is the regular masculine routine. Most fishing is individual – a man sometimes accompanied by a young son in a small canoe fishing with hook and line, or a man (also accompanied by a young son) fishing in shallows with bow and arrow. An Indian fishes his own stretch of river at a preferred place. If a man wishes to join another at the same place there is no quarrel, since fishing is never competitive. There is some rivalrous display of a catch but only a good-humored kind. Unlike gardening, which follows a rigid routine, fishing is flexible; a man follows his hunches and preferences, the seasons, and the species of fish and their habits. Some fishing is by torchlight, at night. The men do not necessarily leave for the river at the same time,

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226 nor do all the men fish on the same day. A man who has had no luck one day temporarily loses interest in fishing. He turns to other activities, perhaps to hunting or to making household implements, or he may do nothing. As the season begins to taper off one fisherman after another gives up. The last to stop is the most successful. The Cubeo believe that a dispirited fisherman will catch nothing anyway. [261] When all have stopped fishing the community hungers. After about a week of poor meals the women nag, but the men do not move until 226 they have received a sign. The sign usually comes from the young 857 male play pack. When the men have retired to the maloca to sulk, the youngsters turn their play fully toward the river. They take out canoes, and they set lines along the shore. For this they win immediate praise from the women, who say, "Look, the boys can catch fish but the men cannot." The boys patrol the river. One sights a school of fish and rushes into the house shouting, "The fish are coming." The men run to the bank to see. Then with great hilarity and good-natured pummeling of the boys they take to their canoes and the fishing cycle resumes.

226 Periodically, the routine of individual fishing is interrupted by organized collective fishing parties. The organizer is often the headman, but any man who has a plan will enlist a party. Summer is the season for fishing parties, when fish can be trapped in a shallow pool and stupefied with fish poison. Fishing parties are festive and noisy. The young play pack attends them, and the catch, which may be large, is collective. Each fisherman secures his own catch. When the party returns they distribute the total catch to all households. The [183] distribution, according to an important Cubeo principle, is personal and never anonymous or generalized.

Fishing a shallow pond requires equipment and preparation. One man locates the place and asks his fellows to join him in fishing it. Several, or all, contribute sections of splint fencing that forms the weir. One party undertakes to put up the weir while another manages to gather and prepare fish poison. The men, as always, work efficiently together with a minimum of formal direction. Most have been members of a common play pack so that teamwork is automatic. Each household head has brought his own canoe into which he loads his "own" catch. Some shoot with bow and arrow, others use a dip net, and some thrash about seizing the dulled fish with their hands. Such fishing is never solemn. The men joke, they address each fish, and when they have tired of the sport they stop. A man may take secret pride in his individual catch, but he is expected to behave as though he were lampooning rivalry.

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Another and somewhat more restrictive form of collective fishing is with basket traps in conjunction with a weir. Some household head may have traditional rights to a *caño*, inherited from his father or uncle. He invites men of the sib to place their baskets at the *caño* when the fish are running, usually at the start of the dry season. All sibmen may share this privilege although the obligation to invite holds strictly only within the joint family of brothers. In any event, the catch from the basket traps is eventually shared among all households in the sib. [423] [428]

The technology of fishing is fairly complex, involving skills in making and in maintaining equipment and, of course, expert knowledge of fish and their habits. Nowadays all Indians use commercial fishhooks. All else is native. A father teaches his son by explaining, by showing, and primarily by allowing the boy to accompany him. The basic instruction is individual and direct. A boy who has no father learns from a paternal uncle or grandfather, but he will often not be as deft as one who has his own father as a teacher. An important supplementary mode of learning is within the play pack. Here, unsupervised by adults, the boys practice what they have learned from their fathers, listen to one another's criticisms, and exchange information. The laggard has a chance to catch up. [177] 226 868 [593]

Because the best fishing is during low water, great stress is laid upon skill in handling the fishing bow and arrow. Every boy toddler is provided by his father with a miniature bow and set of arrows and is set to practice at a fixed target on terra firma. Grown boys practice with adult equipment along the river bank, aiming, if they possibly can, for fish. A boy is always welcome to accompany his father as a companion on a fishing trip, but if he wishes to be a partner he must be reasonably adept. The Cubeo may treat some work as fun but they never confuse it with play. Needless to say, the boys attend very closely to the task of learning river skills. [224]

Every man makes his own equipment – a fishing canoe, line, fish net, basket traps, splint weirs, bow and arrows. There is some trade in these items, but no one is regarded as having reached adult status who is unable to equip himself with these necessities for fishing. Skill in making equipment is acquired by careful observation of others and by helping. As a boy reaches manhood he prepares his equipment, calling upon and freely receiving assistance from elders and from more deft age mates. Fishing lore is acquired gradually. [438]

The Cubeo say that all men are equally skilled at fishing, although to an outside observer differences seem obvious. Leadership in fishing is to them a matter of initiative and personality, not of skill. 226 554

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226 554 Yet a leader of a fishing party may, indeed, ask an elder to come along as an expert. The fact is that expertness is very casually shared, as each fisherman narrates at the end of a day what he accomplished and how he accomplished it.

226 796 [251] [417] [614] [237] After a great catch, fish are dried and smoked for several days on wooden racks set up outside the house. The entire sib gathers, each man selects a dried fish, mounts it on a stick, and dances with it. The dancers wear a headdress of splints that is shaped to resemble a fish basket and is called *nyukáro*, and also carry dance staffs decorated with feathers of the great fishing birds, the heron and the river eagle. They sing songs (*máopwa*) honoring the fish. There may be as many as four or five such festivals during the course of the year. I was [114] told the greatest come when the winter rains have stopped. After the dance they feast on the fish. Curiously, I never witnessed this fish festival, called simply *upaúcteno* (festival). The Indians explained that they only have the festival when they are in the mood. The dance is not intended to increase the supply of fish.

226 484 Not all communities were as well situated for fishing as were those of the Cuduiarí, a well-stocked stream. Other tribes in the area often used distant streams, camping out for long periods of time living on fish and preserving some of the catch for use at home. Koch-Grünberg, in his travels, encountered many Indians far from home, fishing strange streams (1909, II, 27 ff.). On the Cuduiarí the problem of 226 shortage was felt mainly by the upstream communities at the very 484 bottom of the dry season. These people, however, were then free 574 to fish along unoccupied stretches of the Cuduiarí, camping out or 602 accepting the hospitality of phratry mates for fishing sites and for shelter. If they went to another stream it was generally to the sites of in-laws, where they also had hospitality rights. Thus, kinship, including the affinal and the maternal ties, provides a completely reliable mechanism for interchange of territorial resources.

HUNTING

224 [462] Hunting is a secondary masculine pursuit. Whereas every adult male is a fisherman not all are hunters. Hunting attracts naturally the most vigorous age groups, men in their late teens to about 30, [178] although there are no age restrictions that would bar an old man from joining a hunting party. Hunting may have been more prominent in the past, when only native weapons, spears and blowguns using [177] curare-tipped darts, were fashionable. Today the Indians hunt with muzzle-loading shotguns that only a few possess because of the ex-

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244 will lack food, but that she will lack a role in chicha preparation and
423 be deprived of trade goods. Her fear is for loss of status.

[261] The *chagra*, to summarize, is a well-defined item of property. It is
[602] the domain of a particular woman, in the sense of economics, in the
[558] sense of status, and, as mentioned earlier, as a kind of sanctuary. No other land in the community has this character of particularity. All other cultivations, including pupunha orchards, belong to the cultivator, but the land on which they are grown has no standing as personal property. Whereas the manioc gardens of a household have contiguity, to the point where a son clears a plot for his wife adjacent to that of his mother, the variety of its other cultivations are scattered over the entire settlement.

241 With respect to all secondary crops, there is also very clear recog-
423 nition of ownership. Each planting has its known owner, who may be a man, a woman, or a child. Ownership rights are scrupulously respected, and no one would consider disturbing another's plantings
[622] without permission. Tobacco, coca, and *mihi* are generally grown for
[431] the community by the headman, but are recognized, nevertheless, as his plantings. He also contributes to the community all of his pupunha harvest. But it is precisely because he contributes to the
[183] community that his ownership is clearly acknowledged. The point,
[430] of course, about Cubeo property relations is that generosity and sharing go along with the assertion of individual rights. The privilege of the individual as a *giver* is thereby respected. The least formal
249 sharing involves sugar cane. It is understood that everyone is entitled
423 to the simple refreshment of a freshly cut stalk of cane. Even so,
431 adults who do not have cane of their own prefer an invitation. Children, on the other hand, do not stand on ceremony. Yet even a very young tot who is cutting a stalk does so with the announcement, "I am now cutting the cane of my older brother," or whatever the kinship connection may be.

226 On the river, the masculine domain, the men have staked out sites
423 for placing weirs and fish traps. The setting of weirs is the one ter-
614 ritorial issue that disturbs the harmony between sibs along a river. Weirs are commonly set in a *caño*, in which case they are a purely intrasib matter. If, however, men block the main stream they are obligated to allow fish to pass through periodically. "Sometimes they
[578] forget," I was told, "and then we go and tell them. But if they are mean then we go at night and break up their weirs." Such disputes
423 are not common. Within the sib the issue is not of weir rights but of
226 specialization in fishing methods. A man develops a preference for weir fishing, he troubles to prepare the cumbersome equipment and

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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use it, and, as the others do, he shares his catch with the community. Weir sites are inherited by a son so that there is some tendency for this specialty in fishing to descend in certain families and not in others.

In objects there are two main kinds of property rights, those of the community and those of the individual. Community rights are in all objects made for public use by the headman or his wife, such as a large canoe, great chicha urns, the manioc oven, the sugar cane press, and guest benches. Of a somewhat less public nature are ceremonial objects and musical instruments also made by the headman or by an aspirant to his office. The first group of objects are fully in the public domain and subject to constant use. The second group are in the possession of their maker and are brought out by him alone on the proper occasion. Full individual ownership resides in all other personal possessions: household utensils, canoes, weapons, trinkets and ornaments, all trade goods from Europeans, and items of clothing. Disposition of these objects is subject entirely to the discretion of the owner.

Infants also own property and their rights are more or less respected. Sometimes a planting is set in an infant's name by the parent or grandparent. A mother commonly dedicates a brood of chicks to her nursing child. The feeling is that, as with ornaments, possessions confer human status. That is, a person should own things. If the child is old enough to understand possession it assumes charge, more or less, otherwise its possessions are administered by its mother. I have negotiated, for example, the purchase of chickens owned by children. In one instance a mother prevailed upon her little boy to sell me a chicken. After the sale was made, however, the child wailed miserably so that I felt obliged to make him a gift of it. His mother kept the purchase price and announced that she owed the child the value of the chicken. When the child does not understand the transaction, its mother announces publicly the facts of ownership and her intentions to make restitution.

The attitude of the Cubeo toward personal possessions is best described as casual. They are not indifferent to objects but they regard strongly proprietary feelings as improper. Their attitude toward ownership is governed by the important status principle that giving is honorific. Among sibmates objects circulate freely, the closer the tie between people the more active the exchanges. Sisters exchange ornaments and trinkets and men borrow freely from one another with or without permission. They seem to be most free with objects of economic utility, such as a canoe, weapons, implements, and somewhat

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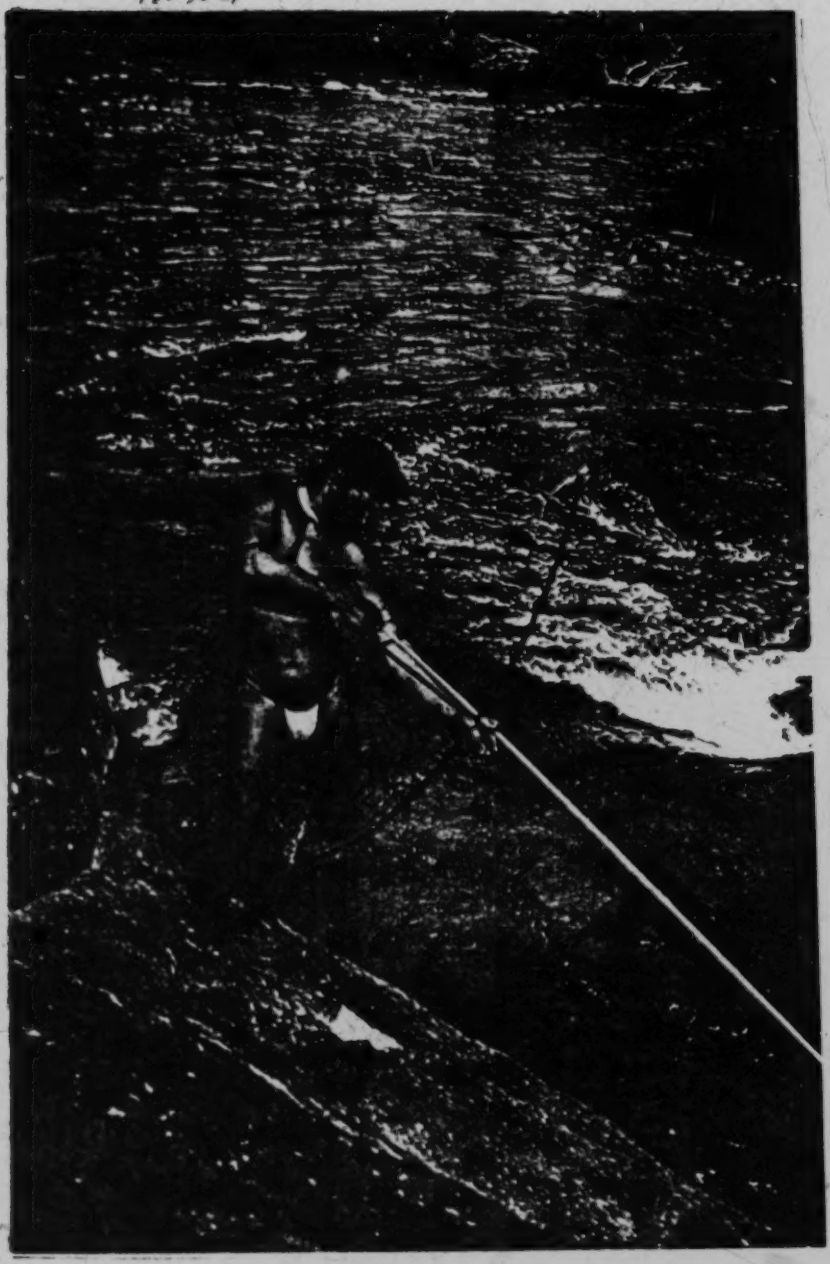

A Tukano shooting fish with a long fish arrow.

6: Moser and Tayler E,N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

721 many more people lived there. We are told by Robuchon that sixty years ago the Indians of north-west Amazonia, round the Caquetá and to the north, were extremely warlike. Tribal warfare was rife and no one trusted his
727 neighbour. *Malocas* were attacked and burnt down and prisoners taken; of these only young children were allowed to survive as slaves. The remainder were knocked to the ground with wooden clubs which the Indians still have today, their bodies hacked to pieces, their forearms used to stir the *chicha* and the armbones later made into flutes. Hands and feet were a delicacy and the sexual organs were eaten by the headman's wife to ensure brave offspring. even the bones were boiled into broth and the orgy continued until the cannibals had completed their spoil and the *chicha* had run dry.

Such a description of warfare and cannibalism would not fit the Indian who lives in the Piraparaná today, and certainly bears no resemblance to the
[178] daily life we saw in their *malocas*. We found the Indian's day measured by a peaceful regularity.

512 Slowly the great house comes to life. Smouldering fires are stirred into a blaze, for the hour before sunrise – even inside the *maloca* – is always the coldest. A baby cries, a young Indian moves from his hammock to the palm-screen door and eases it up to its hook like a portcullis, then saunters leisurely out into the dawn. Others follow. The women move at the far end of the *maloca*, still only vague shapes in the gathering light as they prepare cassava, pick up the water pots and go down to the river to bathe.

[264] The men returning from the river squat on their haunches on the low
[262] stools in the centre of the *maloca*, and without any ceremony consume their breakfast of cassava bread, manioc juice and probably some leftovers from the previous night – boiled fish or a piece of bush pig. The women, who have eaten separately with the children, collect their large manioc baskets and leave
[482] for the *chagra*, the forest clearing where they grow their crops. The baskets are slung from a strip of sapling bark across the forehead; they hold their babies on their hips, walking rapidly, almost awkwardly – the Indian
[855] woman's gait is not a graceful one. Children run along beside them, some
[857] affectionately holding the hands of their mothers, others playing. A few of the elder children return to the river to fish, and some of the men go off in
[226] pairs to hunt and fish, while others move off to collect coca leaves from their *chagras*.

249 The Piraparaná has always been an area of coca cultivation and today the river and its tributaries are one of the few remaining strongholds of the drug in north-west Amazonia. Carrying no more than their small coca pouches and the basket for the leaves, five or six men, led by the headman, go down to the stream, perhaps taking a drink and washing themselves before they climb up the far bank. They move along a path through the thick vegetation of an old *chagra* fallen into disuse. Although an occasional banana or *pupuña* palm

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Panpipes and Don Giovanni

In early February we started to make a small collection. For exchange we had brought rolls of coloured cloth, cigarettes, combs, thread and beads, fishing line and hooks. When we arrived at a *maloca* we would give presents to the headman and his wife, then to the rest of his family. There was never any hesitation in allowing us to sling our hammocks in their houses, but our giving gifts perhaps assured them of our friendly intentions. Moreover, in return they would often give us *farinha* which would help out with our own food. Of all the trade goods, small beads, and cloth especially in primary colours, red, blue and yellow, were the most popular. They preferred white beads and were prepared to exchange many of their own possessions for them. But even if we had lived with the Indians for some time, so that they knew us, they would have been loath to part with certain things. In order to obtain one of their magnificent head-dresses, which may have taken a man months to complete because of the scarcity of the feathers, we had to give them one of our shotguns, nothing less. A shotgun was as good as a bow and arrow. For the Indian it had the advantage that you could shoot more than one bird at a time and it had a greater range than an arrow. But for years their gun would probably be useless because of a lack of shot and powder. Also the gun made a great noise and this frightened the game away. The only three we saw were ancient hammer guns, probably taken from *caucheros* they had killed.

In one of the last *malocas* of the Piraparaná we obtained a canoe. This proved extremely useful as it could be loaded with some of the lighter equipment, such as the collection, and towed from the back of *El Diablo*. Unfortunately it was narrow and unstable and on one occasion as we passed through some turbulent water, it swung sideways in an eddy and overturned. Before we were able to do anything several pieces of our small collection had already disappeared. As a result of this we learnt to keep an Indian in the stern of the canoe to guide it.

The rivers of the Amazon are usually termed black or white, to differentiate between clear and muddy water. Because of the amount of suspended sediment, white rivers are said to have many more fish. There were however a variety of fish in the 'black' Piraparaná. When we travelled on the river we would often see large gate-traps at the mouths of the smaller creeks. The

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226 fish hooks and line we carried for bartering were greatly sought after, though José for some reason sabotaged much of our exchange. He told the Indians that our nylon was not as good as their own *cumare* line and he broke the barbs of our steel hooks on the house posts to show that their own were better.

226 796 'That is barbasco, a poisonous liana.' José pointed to several bundles of saplings lying on the floor of a *maloca* we were visiting. 'Soon, in late February or March, before the first rains, all the Indians near here will gather for the fish poisoning. They will build small dams in the streams, and the *barbasco* will be pounded and thrown into the water above these dams. All the fish float to the surface and, with nets made from *cumare*, or long spear arrows with forked metal ends, they will be caught in great quantities and carried to a *maloca*. Usually a particular house is chosen each year and, when enough fish have been collected, the festival will start. This may go on for days with *chicha*, panpipes and painted *yarumo* dancing-staves, and many people – and more fish than we see at any other time in the year.' This was a festival we wished to see, but we did not expect to be in the Piraparaná in March. Besides they might have been reluctant to let us watch a ceremony on which the abundance of fish during the following year depended.

Four days below Ni we came to the great falls of Beiju, and there, as we dragged *El Diablo* over the portage, we met some Indians who told us they were going to a festival at a Makuna *maloca* belonging to a headman called Bréo. It was two days' journey up a tributary, but we decided to go.

The Tukano have many festivals throughout the year; among the most important are the Fish Festivals and the Harvest Festivals for the pineapple,
533 *miriti* palm and *guamo* fruits, and for the manioc. At all these they dance,
534 sing and play their instruments. But to the Indian, music is also a form of relaxation and enjoyment. Often as the men laze in their hammocks they happily while away the time playing on their bamboo panpipes. Blowing across the eight- or nine-stemmed pipes two men may accompany each other for hours on end, ascending and descending the same scale, rhythmically counterbalancing one another in tuneful but repetitive melodies. They continue, apparently oblivious of repetition, and the panpipe tunes soon be-
[184] came imprinted on our minds. Each clan has its own variations; most of the tunes are based on their dances, though some are in imitation of birds. At night the young boys play their pipes crouched around the central posts of the *maloca*, and the clear notes carry across the still forest like church bells ringing on a cold winter's night. Only occasionally do the Indians actually sing for enjoyment; one headman uttered a staccato war song as he pounded coca leaves and occasionally the women hummed as they rocked their babies to sleep. Their instruments are more important to them; of these the snail-shell and deer-bone flutes, the tortoise shells and the clay horns are the most unusual.

It is hard to believe that a river-snail shell no more than three inches long